In addition, they robbed caravans who happened into their country, hatefully ransoming the voyagers. Sometimes they went to empty the granaries of the sedentary people of the oases or the Sudanese villages, capturing Negroes and Negresses to sett as slaves.

When peace reigned in their country, they willingly organized /218/ caravans to go to the Tidikelt or Touat oases and bring back dates, or else to the Sudan to get supplies of millet. They also made themselves the protectors of caravans crossing their country, naturally making the caravaneer pay a consistently high duty in merchandise.

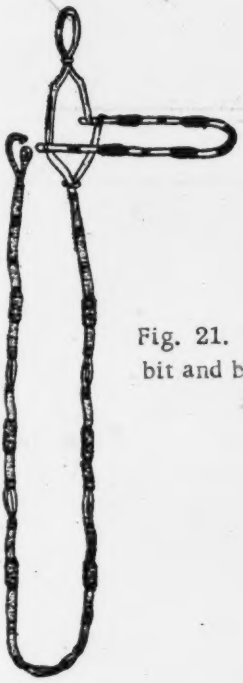


Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

The Ahaggar has famous salt mines in the region called Amadror which lies to the east of the Tafedest massif in a large depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Ihaggaren, but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks and raids. That is why the Amadror salt deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

492 484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486 643 648 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the Ihaggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's protection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amenokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the protection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great [579] that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

427 492 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemaren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484 674 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

484 This was observed by Duveyrier, Captain de Bonnemain, and
674 Bou Derba on the Ouargla-Ghat itinerary. We have witnessed
similar actions ourselves, but the goods stored in this way belonged
to some Ihaggaren, and no one would have dared lay a hand on
[609] them. The thing is less safe in the case of a stranger's property.

When a camel dies en route, the load that it was carrying is left on the spot and put under public protection. The caravaneer is always certain to find his property, even six or eight months later. In this regard, it is well to say that the Tuareg, raiders though they must be, are not thieves. When a theft has been committed in their /316/ country, the guilty party is generally a Negro, but rarely a Tuareg of the white race.

439 What were the products transported? Manufactured goods, for the most part, generally made in Europe. There were fabrics and silks which the Tuareg and the Sudanese eagerly sought, and there
[177 272] were knickknacks, unmounted sword blades, sugar, and coffee (tea only recently made its appearance in the Sahara).

All these goods were resold or exchanged for ten times their value. On the return trip the caravaneers brought back ostrich plumes, gold dust, ivory, and little Negro girls and boys bought as slaves and resold for very high prices in the cities of Algeria. Leather was also the object of an intensive traffic, as well as medications of plant or animal (ostrich fat) origin which were part of the Sudanese pharmacopoeia and much appreciated by the Arabs.

177 439 Today, except for gold and ivory, which have become rare and whose traffic is in the hands of Europeans, and except for the sale of slaves, which has been forbidden since the French
[486] occupation, trade has remained the same. But the routes have become free and the Tuareg can no longer count on their former profits. There was one resort left, that of making themselves caravaneers in their turn and using their many camels in that way. This is what they have done.

439 and its focus is now strictly local as far as the Tuareg are concerned.

Salt and dates were once traded in the Niger Bend country for camels, sheep, millet and rice, and camels, sheep and goatskins used to be traded to Ghadamès in exchange for swords, richly embroidered cloaks, dates, tea and sugar. Ghadamès is still an important center for the production of metal utensils and occasionally weapons.

439 **Protection.** Aside from their own trading activities, the Tuareg used to control caravan
486 trade in general over a very wide area, and this was the third corner post of their economy. Barth (1857, vol. 1, p. 238), writing a century ago, tells us that in his day the Amenokal of the Ahaggar, Guémama, controlled all trade routes between Mourzouk and Timbuctoo, and it seems likely that this situation already dated back over a considerable period. The Ahaggar Tuareg used to control all trade in the southwestern Sahara as far west as Ouadane and southward into northern Nigeria at least as early as the beginning of the 15th century, but their grip on much of this area, and notably on the salt trade of the southwestern Desert, was broken by the Moroccans at the end of the 16th century, and the Tuareg never seem to have extended it again much beyond Aoulef in the Northwest or southwestward beyond Timbuctoo.

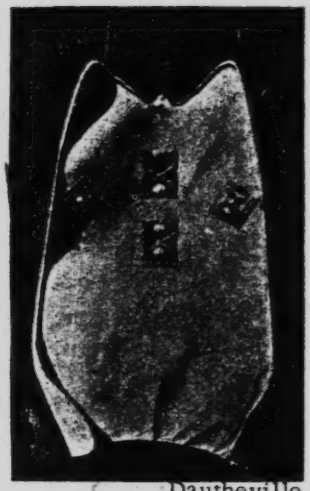
The mechanism of control was based on the furnishing of guides and armed escorts to caravans passing through areas under Tuareg domination, and for these services there was a fairly uniform customary scale of charges based on the estimated value of a caravan's cargo and the reputed wealth of the owners. Caravan leaders sometimes failed to agree on the figure to be paid and proceeded on their own, while big caravans occasionally brought guides and guards along with them and small ones now and then tried to slip through unobserved. The Tuareg, however, succeeded in making such expedients unprofitable in most cases by themselves raiding reluctant customers along the road. Thus a highly profitable protection racket was maintained for several centuries before the period of European domination.

721 **Raiding.** The fourth economic corner post of the Ahaggar Tuareg was raiding pure and

As a rule, an amicable solution is finally reached, but the part of the loot which is returned to the deputation is always far less than that which was taken. The Tuareg say, "Alal ouala," that is, "the restitution is never complete." 728

It may also happen that the raiders refuse to return anything. 721

[411]



Dautheville
Tuareg Shield

The raided tribe, if it considers itself too weak, solicits the support of another tribe with which it has good relations, and then there is fighting. /56/ [701] 728

When caravans of traders have been raided, since these caravans have usually placed themselves under the protection of noble tribes to which they pay dues, the controversy is settled between the protecting tribe and the raiders' tribe. 484 486 721

In the Ahaggar it seems that the old amenokal, Aïtar'el, established the restitution of loot taken from caravans protected by the Azdjer in the following manner: 728

1. Complete restitution of the pack camels taken from the caravans

2. For each load of merchandise taken, one "amadjour" camel for each man who took part in the raid and rode a mehari of his own

3. One "aleggues" (a young camel of three years) or a half-grown camel for each man who borrowed or hired the mehari which he rode in the raid.

The arms of a Tuareg and the harness for his mount have been described in detail by Duveyrier, and there is no need to review them here. /57/ 114

423 /67 cont./ interest in planting trees that he cannot keep. A constant effort at arboriculture cannot be hoped for since the gardener may change frequently, and the successor of a tree planter may be ignorant or unscrupulous and is free to let the planting fail.

423 631 486 Besides the cultivated land, the land through which routes pass has great importance in the Ahaggar. The whole of the territory of the Kel Ahaggar has always been divided among the different Tuareg tribes. Strictly applied oral regulations define the rights and servitudes of a tribe concerning its land.

1) Passage through and watering on the lands of a tribe is the right of other Tuareg.

2) No one may sojourn on the lands of a tribe without the consent of that tribe's chief.

3) Whoever follows travelers' routes through land belonging to a tribe is responsible for any damage caused by him or his animals to the trees, wells, foggaras, gardens, and game. Here are several penalties: one goat for a broken tree branch; [685] one sheep for damage caused /68/ by a poorly watched herd; a camel for damage caused by camels; part or all of any game killed. When a camel runs away, the owner is not responsible; he must even be told and helped. It is forbidden to put animals in a pasture where plants have not attained maximum growth.

4) The amenokal may sometimes authorize tribes to sojourn on the lands of a certain tribe, in case there is an abundance of pasturage on these lands.

The servitudes of the tribes are the normal consequence of their nomadic life, but the rights concerning the land passed through bring to light a characteristic of the Tuareg: their love of the land. These nomads, who should seek the most abundant pastures, whose every interest calls them toward the Sudan, remain attached to their soil. They observe regulations suitable for sedentary peoples.

648 Let us note that there is no agricultural exploitation directed by Europeans in the Ahaggar. The principal reason for this abstention is the meager yield to be expected; the reduction